Atlantis Vol. 12 No. 2 Spring/Printemps 1987

## Vera Brittain: Feminism, Pacifism and Problem of Class, 1900-1953

Yvonne A. Bennett Carleton University

## ABSTRACT

In this century, and until very recent years, the English feminist movement and the English pacifist movement have demonstrated a tendency to reflect a strongly middle-class bias, in both leadership and rank and file, which has possibly—though not intentionally—retarded the overall growth of each movement. For both feminism and pacifism the central questions have been and remain those relating to the conjoint problems of effective political translation and the surmounting of class barriers. This paper explores these questions through an examination of the work of the English feminist and pacifist, Vera Brittain (1893-1970).

In this century, and until very recent years, the English feminist movement and the English pacifist movement have demonstrated a tendency to reflect a strongly middle-class bias, in both leadership and rank and file, which has possibly-though not intentionally-retarded the overall growth of each movement. For both feminism and pacifism the central questions have been and remain those relating to the conjoint problems of effective political translation and the surmounting of class barriers. This paper proposes to explore these questions through an examination of the work of Vera Brittain (1893-1970). Brittain, a feminist and a pacifist, was a representative figure of the leadership of the interwar feminist and pacifist movements in England. Because feminism and pacifism were recurrent and overriding themes in her work, an examination of Brittain's treatment of both, from the vantage point of the origins of each in her life, and the consequent expression she gave to them in her writing, should shed some light on the nature and the extent of the challenges facing the feminist and pacifist movements in her day.

An author by profession, Brittain had first attained national recognition in her native England in 1933 with the publication of her book, *Testament of Youth*,<sup>1</sup> an autobiographical study of the years 1900-1925. Based on Brittain's diaries and letters, the book provides its readers with a close insight into the life of an Englishwoman struggling to emerge from the Victorian chrysalis. But Brittain's experiences were not, in fact, typical of the vast majority of English women. Brittain was, by birth and upbringing, a member of the provincial upper middle class, a privileged section of Edwardian society, marked off from its "social inferiors" by an abyss of social and economic differences. British society on the eve of the First World War was one of great inequality, a fact compounded by the hermetic divisions between classes.<sup>2</sup> Testament of Youth is, in part, an account of the struggle of one upper-middle-class woman against the restrictions imposed by late Victorian and Edwardian society upon women of her class. From her middle teens Brittain had become angrily aware of what she perceived to be the restrictive nature of her upbringing and of the constraints that society placed, particularly and especially, upon women.

We women were expected to await marriage by amusing ourselves with trivial occupations—living a kind of cold-storage life until some nice young man came along.<sup>3</sup>

In defiance of such expectations, Brittain struggled to ensure educational and occupational opportunities for herself equal to those of her brother. Her resultant feminist convictions were thus formulated and characterised as being for equality of right and opportunity. Yet, it is important to note the equality Brittain sought was an equality with the male members of her own class. This group most certainly enjoyed the choice in life that Brittain desired, but it was not a luxury afforded all members of the male sex:<sup>4</sup> little choice, until recent years, was afforded the miner's son from the Rhondda Valley.

Although Brittain's struggle for educational equality as she understood it was rewarded in 1914 when she won an Open Exhibition to Somerville, her enjoyment of her success was brief. In 1915 she left Oxford to become a Voluntary Aid Detachment nurse, and to gain the experience out of which her pacifist faith was to grow: One day, when I finished the gruesome and complicated dressing of a desperately wounded prisoner, a disturbing thought struck me. Wasn't it somehow odd that I, in Etaples, should be trying to save the life of a man whom my brother up at Ypres had perhaps done his best to kill? And didn't that argue the existence of some fundamental absurdity in the whole tragic situation?<sup>5</sup>

As a consequence of the war, Brittain emerged a convinced internationalist and a supporter of the League of Nations Union.<sup>6</sup> But as the interwar years passed, Vera Brittain moved gradually to the adoption of a set of beliefs and values which, by 1936, had crystallised into the total renunciation of war. Her pacifism came to maturity, however, only when Brittain recognised the yawning moral chasm between the advocates of collective security and the pacifists, and her own dawning identification with the latter.

For fifteen years after the First World War, this wide moral division between the supporters of collective security and the exponents of revolutionary pacifism had always existed but had not been emphasized. But with the threat of a second World War, the gulf became clear. Individuals who believed that war was wrong in all circumstances could no longer join with those who were prepared to fight in the last resort.<sup>7</sup>

In early 1937 Brittain joined Canon 'Dick' Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union as a Sponsor.<sup>8</sup>

Feminism and pacifism had thus, by 1936, come to define and represent the frame and the form that Brittain envisaged should be given to the postwar world.9 Common to Brittain's understanding of both was a belief in equality and a determination to effect root and branch change in society. The attainment of the goals of each movement would ensure the abolition of human conflict, whether sexual, economic, social or national.<sup>10</sup> For example, fascism and totalitarianism were seen as having their roots in the economic injustices of the Versailles Treaty; similarly, economic inequalities were ensuring the continued suppression of women in the marketplace. The correction of either situation implied revolutionary changes both in existing economic structures and human attitudes and expectations. Indeed, a common denominator of feminism and pacifism were the problems-both in nature and in extent—associated with the implementation of these goals. To rectify either situation a fundamental reordering of human and economic relationships was implicit. For Brittain the key to the attainment of such change was through education. Yet this profoundly liberal belief reflected an understanding of human beings as essentially rational and

good, and capable of changes in nature and attitude governing both personal and impersonal relationships. Such optimism contrasted sharply with the violent orgy of irrationality expressed by the First World War, and the spiritual, physical, emotional and intellectual chaos that followed, so powerfully drawn, for example, by Paul Valéry in Variété.<sup>11</sup>

During the interwar years Brittain tried, through her writings on feminism and pacifism, to assist in the building of the new order envisaged by Wilsonian idealism. But her work was, arguably, almost unknowingly delimited by an enemy both within and without herself: The English class system. "[V]ictory [in 1918] confirmed rather than destroyed the conservatism of British society,"<sup>12</sup> with the result that class divisions continued to be accepted as a given fact of English societal life. Indeed, in 1940, one Ministry of Information committee concerned with domestic propaganda based its "deliberations...upon the assumption that British society was demarcated by class to such an extent that the matter was never raised as a subject of debate."<sup>13</sup> Brittain's work reflects such an assumption.

The problem with Vera Brittain's limited ideal of "equality" feminism, glimpsed in her educational competition with her brother, outlasted the war.14 In 1928 Brittain published a book which clearly underscored it. Women's Work in Modern England was in the form of a handbook of occupations open to women.<sup>15</sup> The thrust behind the book was to help women to come to a sense of the range of careers open to them and to encourage them to explore these opportunities. The book was timely—a point noted by several of its reviewers since many women found themselves, after the war, relegated to traditional occupations in the textile and clothing industries and in retail and domestic service, with little encouragement, either governmental or societal, to broaden their occupational horizons.16 But the careers and openings Brittain discussed were weighted in favour of women who had enjoyed more than a modicum of education. This fact alone gave her words greater relevance for the middle classes since "free secondary education was not introduced in England until the passage of Butler's Education Act in 1944."17 Whilst Brittain railed against the inequalities of life and work for women, and the kind of society propagandised in "emotional novelettes which make marriage and the succeeding era of unprobable bliss the climax of the lovely heroine's career,"18 both the audience Brittain was addressing, and the questions and concerns she was raising, were very much those of the middle classes. In one article, written in 1938 and published in the Daily Herald-a Labour newspaper-Brittain admitted this to be the case:

Millions of women workers can never hope to be highlysalaried Civil Servants or successful lawyers, and many wonder why they should concern themselves with these limited middle-class claims.<sup>19</sup>

The poor of South-West Bethnal Green, whom Brittain met whilst canvassing in the General Elections of 1922 and 1923,20 and the thousands whose poverty was to be exposed by the Second World War, appear implicitly in Brittain's work almost as a class apart. In reading Brittain's articles one is struck by the apparent lack of class differentiation in a society so closely demarcated by class and in which classes lived with little intimate knowledge of one another. Brittain's subjects of concern were consistent with middle-class possibilities of response, but largely inconsistent with the economic and social realities that bound women of the lower classes. Brittain's "equality feminism" is best understood, therefore, on a horizontal rather than a vertical plane since she was, arguably, implicitly delimited by her own class experience. The world in which Vera Brittain moved in the interwar years was very far removed from that of England's poor. In 1928, for example, she employed, as was quite normal for a well-off, middle-class family, a nurse, a housekeeper and a charwoman.<sup>21</sup> It was also at this time that Brittain was deeply involved in work for the League of Nations Union-a predominantly liberal, middle-class organisation-work that Brittain poured herself into unstintingly.22 Indeed, it was whilst Brittain was working for the LNU that the first of her articles linking her interests in the women's movement and the peace question began to appear. Brittain wrote,

There is a terrible dead mass of women in this country ...who are not organized for peace, and are not interested. Even the women members of Parliament are not conspicuous in their work for disarmament.<sup>23</sup>

Yet it is difficult to conceive that Brittain included in this group women of the lower classes, whose "lethargy"<sup>24</sup> could only have been the result of hardships, economic and social, producing conditions which were not a part of Brittain's daily experience nor, indeed, as Angus Calder has shown, that of the middle classes generally.<sup>25</sup> It seems far more likely that Brittain sought to raise the political consciousness of women of her own class with the possible understanding that a heightened sense of political responsibility amongst middleclass women would ultimately disseminate downward to the lower classes.

This difficulty brings into sharp perspective a problem facing both the feminist and pacifist movements: the task of translating the message of the movement into terms acceptable and comprehensible to classes across the social spectrum. Deference and ingrained habits of conformity to tradition and other long-established socialising agents tended to overshadow the political experience of the English lower classes who were, for the most part, simply too involved in the business of living to take up what were understandably regarded as causes inspired by the middle class.<sup>26</sup> If viewed in class terms, they were not within their sphere of interest. Yet it was in her treatment of the question of women and peace that Brittain did put forward arguments and issues which had the potential to break down class barriers, at least among women, by employing a transcendent feminist appeal. Brittain argued, for example, that women "[a]s givers of life...should be utterly hostile to anything which threatens their interests or the interests of their children."27 In a fundamental sense, therefore, Brittain saw a close pragmatic and rational, but also an emotional and biological, relationship between feminism and pacifism. As creators of life women denied themselves if they became its destroyers.

Brittain's feminist and pacifist inspirations appear to flow into a common stream as a direct result of the growth and spread of Fascism which, as Brittain understood it, was a reaction against the failure of the "Great War for Civilisation"28 to yield its promises for peace, internationalism and equality. Fascism, the triumphal capstone of irrationality, boded ill for both the women's movement and the peace movement.<sup>29</sup> In an address to the Hull Women's Luncheon Club—a middle-class women's organisation—in March 1934, Brittain warned against the dangers of the "Cult of the Cradle and Back to the Kitchen Movement" sweeping Italy and Germany, and threatening to turn women into mere biological functionaries.30 Nazism and Fascism were the antithesis of feminism and, equally obviously, of pacifism also. Brittain had no illusions about the nature and depth of the fascist threat; from the spring of 1935 she was warning her audiences that the "antifeminist reaction in Germany and Italy" was "a portent of war" and that the fascists were responsible for

a policy of re-harnessing women to the continuous job of supplying material for war makers. Why else...should limitation of families be an offence against the law?<sup>31</sup>

Women were also being systematically denied educational access and being removed from political life: a motherhood cult could not compensate for the denial of hard-won rights of women.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, Brittain pointed out,

Respect for motherhood doesn't compensate for lack of humanity... One doesn't feel that Il Duce, in making fer-

tility a patriotic virtue, has any real respect for the mother as an individual.<sup>33</sup>

The militarism of German and Italian society automatically marked the state off as operating on premises and tenets contrary to the most fundamental interests of women: "They whose function is to construct and create, are used to provide fresh man power to destroy."<sup>34</sup>

Thus, against the backdrop of spreading Fascism in Europe, and conscious of the inroads being made by the British Union of Fascists,35 Brittain-in both her public lectures and her published articles-worked to alert women to the vital international questions of the day. But one is again faced with the question of "Which women?", since Brittain's tendency apparently to treat women as an organic whole and collective entity would appear to show an insensitive disregard for the economic and social position of women of the lower classes.<sup>36</sup> Women, Brittain believed, were politically blinkered by their obsession with the world of domestic detail.37 In one place Brittain wrote: "The persecutions of Hitler in Germany, the aggressions of Mussolini in Abyssinia, leave her [woman] unmoved in comparison with the discovery of a new recipe for tomato salad."38 In addition to this, the "infinite capacity [of women] for resignation"39 and their uncomplaining endurance merely compounded a problem of stupefying inertia.40 Brittain's words were accurate: housekeeping in the first part of this century involved much heavy work, being without the benefit of contemporary labour saving devices. As Noreen Branson points out,

One way and another it appears that during the Twenties about two thirds of all women were primarily concerned with domestic duties, whether as married women, as paid domestic servants, or as unpaid domestic helps.<sup>41</sup>

The domestic routine was, for Brittain, inherently stultifying. (Indeed, even in 1953, Brittain still held fast to the belief she had expressed some twenty years earlier, namely, that the domestic routine was a "continuous antidote to thought."<sup>42</sup> These were rather stiff words for those who freely chose the occupation of homemaker.) Yet it would seem that Brittain could reasonably only have the middle-class women in mind. In an address to Quakers in 1932 she asserted that if women washed dishes or knitted instead of heading a local educational committee, "it was a national waste." Brittain could only have been addressing women whose education, talent and time allowed for such opportunity to be seized; clearly life afforded little such opportunity to the lower classes.<sup>43</sup>

Brittain believed that the passage out of the domestic culde-sac (and one she had used herself) was through education since, she understood — as the Fascists well knew — that a lack of education "ensured inequality and deprived women of the confidence and ability to express themselves and to exercise their rightful influence at the domestic and international levels."44 Yet again, however, Brittain would appear to be drawing upon experience limited by class. The obverse of the above statement implies Brittain's treatment of men as an undifferentiated, organic whole. This would seem an extraordinary position for Brittain to take unless she was addressing herself solely to the middle classes- although even within that grouping, to this day, there are none too subtle differences. Moreover, as Rose comments, "The English educational system has always emphasized inequality. The great majority of the population has been considered fit for only a minimum of education."45 There appears, therefore, to be an unresolved problem in Brittain's work-which may have been clear to Brittain, but not explicitly so for later readers—reflecting a class bias. In 1952, for example, in a lecture given in Bolton, Brittain stated that the

practical claims [of women] add up at a deeper level to one demand—the recognition of a woman as a complete human being, liberated from false identification with angels and with children.<sup>46</sup>

Yet the statement raises the question of the extent to which working-class husbands ever, in fact, confused their wives with angels or children? More importantly, the statement fails to acknowledge that many men were also in situations and under conditions that rendered them less than complete human beings.

It is clear, therefore, that Brittain's work cannot be fully understood without an attempt to grapple with the issue of class. Reading Brittain's words from the vantage point of the 1980s, one is faced with the problem of Brittain's apparent lack of expressed appreciation-save on rare occasions-for the marked class differences of interwar English society. It is probable, however, that because society was so overtly demarcated by class, Brittain did not feel a need to specifically identify her intended audience; indeed, her message and place of delivery (whether the middle-class women's luncheon clubs or magazine articles) made such overt identification redundant. Yet this did, of course, have the unfortunate effect of placing an inevitable limitation upon the possibilities for disseminating her message. In fact, it helped to perpetuate the class barrier even though both feminism and pacifism had an inherent potential to entirely transcend class lines: the message was limited by the medium and the given social, economic and educational circumstances that governed it. But with the post-1945 lessening of class distinctions in England the constituency of both feminism and pacifism has grown, and the mutuality of interests shared by both movements has been increasingly recognised.

In 1943, in the midst of war, Brittain had written of pacifism as "nothing other than a belief in the ultimate transcendence of love over power. This belief comes from an inward assurance."47 Love, in its purest form, is allembracing and knows no economic, social, political or sexual distinctions: it has the potential to be classless, asexual, apolitical-namely, the capacity to be transcendent. Equally, since it rests upon inward assurance and is within the capacity of all to experience, it is a belief capable of defying societal and other distinctions. Moreover, in using the word "power" Brittain was not referring simply to the naked dictatorial power of totalitarian rulers, but to all situations where power, of whatever sort—political, economic, psychological or sexual-was being unjustly exercised over women and men. Pacifism for Vera Brittain—and, indeed, pacifism in its truest sense-was not simply against war but for the ending of the use of force in all human affairs and the banishment of selfishness, greed and discordance from human relationships. Pacifism, by definition, sought (and seeks) to establish a society where militaristic values would have no place and where equality and harmony-not least within and between the sexes-would be accepted and embraced as governing values. In pacifism Vera Brittain found an all-encompassing vision which held out the hope of a radical reordering and restructuring of society. This would, of course include a realisation of the feminist goals and values she held for all women-and men. In 1941 Brittain wrote:

the struggle against war, which is the final and most vicious expression of force, is fundamentally inseparable from feminism, socialism, slave emancipation and the liberation of subject races.<sup>48</sup>

The elimination of war, militarism and dictatorship were not only the necessary prerequisites, but also the perpetual guarantees of a new society. In 1953, speaking to the Women's International League, Brittain spoke of what she understood to be the continuing and joint task of the peace movement and of the women's movement:

to educate men to respect and adopt those women's values which, like those of all the noblest men, emphasize the principles of love and toleration.<sup>49</sup> This was the voice of a feminism not consumed, but subsumed, by pacifism. In this passage is implicit the element of transcendence and the recognition that the final goals of both feminism and pacifism were synonymous, and ultimately dependent upon the cooperative and equal effort of both men and women of all classes of society.

Brittain's writings, as we have seen, were arguably often clouded by deeply engrained class perceptions. This was not surprising given the extent of class differentiation and separateness in England between 1900 and 1945. These differences do account for some of the fundamental difficulties in the way of recruitment both to feminism and pacifism in the interwar years. The apparently equivocal and paradoxical passages in Brittain's writings are reflections of a transitional phase, as English society moved to a more egalitarian and pluralistic stage. Implicit in this process was the steady erosion of class differences assisted by the improvements in the general availability of economic and educational opportunities. The women of Greenham Common are products of the process.

## NOTES

- 1. Vera Brittain, Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925, London: Virago Ltd., 1978. [Originally published by Victor Gollancz, London, 1933.]
- 2. Paul Thompson, The Edwardians, The Remaking of British Society, St. Albans: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1977.
- 3. Anonymous, "Youth of To-day More Idealistic," Bulletin and Scots Pictorial, Glasgow, 4 February 1935, cutting in the Vera Brittain Collection (hereafter VBC) Scrapbook E20 "Lectures and Speeches (England), September 1933-December 1940," McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
- 4. In 1913, as a young woman of twenty, Brittain wrote: "It feels sad to be a woman! Men seem to have so much more choice as to what they are intended for!" Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, p. 58-59.
- Vera Brittain, "From War to Pacifism," published in Forward, 9 September 1939 as: "What Can We Do in War Time Work for a Sane Peace" (See VBC/H341). See also Yvonne Bennett, "Testament of a Minority in Wartime: The Peace Pledge Union and Vera Brittain, 1939-1945," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, McMaster University, 1984, p. 45-52.
- 6. Donald S. Birn, The League of Nations Union, 1918-1945, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Vera Brittain, Testament of Experience, London: Virago, 1978, p. 168. See also H.R.L. Sheppard, "Please Come Off the Fence," New Statesman and Nation, 16 October 1937, p. 599-600.
- 8. Sheppard to Brittain, 27 January 1937 and Brittain to Sheppard, 28 January 1937 (See VBC).
- 9. Vera Brittain also became a socialist in 1923. Her socialism is, however, largely implicit rather than explicit in her writings.
- See, for example, Eric Gill, The Human Person and Society, London: Peace Pledge Union, 1940; Charles Ravan, The Starting Point of Pacifism, London: Peace Pledge Union, February 1940; Wilfred Wellock, Money Has Destroyed Your Peace, London: Peace Pledge Union, 1940; and John Middleton Murry, The Brotherhood of Peace, London: Peace Pledge Union, 1940.
- 11. Paul Valéry, Variété, 1924.
- 12. John Stevenson, British Society 1914-45, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984, p. 96.

- 13. Ian McLaine, Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II, London: Allen and Unwin, 1979, p. 21.
- Dale Spender, Time and Tide Wait for No Man, London: Pandora, 14. 1984. p. 107.
- Vera Brittain, Women's Work in Modern England, London: Noel 15. Douglas, 1928.
- Noreen Branson, Britain in the Nineteen Twenties, London: Wei-16 denfeld and Nicolson, 1975, p. 211.
- Richard Rose, Politics in England, Boston: Little, Brown, 1974, p. 17. 155.
- Anonymous, "Women as Paid Workers," Daily Chronicle, 7 June 18. 1928. See VBC/A3, "Women's Work in Modern England."
- Vera Brittain, "Women Still Wait for Equality," Daily Herald, 26 19 March 1938. See VBC/G530.
- 20. Vera Brittain, Testament of Youth, p. 575-6.
- Vera Brittain, "Being Tactful: The Responsibilities of the Profes-21. sional Woman," Manchester Guardian, 6 June 1928. See VBC/G116.
- 22. See, for example, E. Bramstead, "Apostles of Collective Security: The L.N.U. and its Functions," Australian Journal of Politics and History 13 (1967), p. 347-364.
- 23. Anonymous, "Women Not Playing Their Part," Sunderland Echo, 22 November 1933. See VBC/E20.
- 24. Vera Brittain, "Can the Women of the World Stop War?", Modern Woman, February 1934, p. 7, 62. See VBC/G444.
- 25 Angus Calder, The People's War, London: Panther, 1971, p. 40-58. See Bennett, "Testament of a Minority," p. 81-83. 26.
- 27. Anonymous, "Truth the First Casualty in Wartime," Birmingham Gazette, 26 June 1934. See VBC/E20. 28
- This phrase appears on the general service medal for the 1914-1918 war.
- 29. Brittain also pointed out that as wives and mothers, within the home and family unit, women had developed considerable talents as reconcilers and negotiators. (See Brittain, "Women's Values and Public Life," Speech to the W.I.L., 23 September 1953; VBC/F162.) This, interestingly, is a point made in a recent article in the Globe and Mail, Toronto, 31 May 1985, p. 7: Linda Hossie, "Women mobilize talent for peace".
- Anonymous, "Cult of the Cradle Criticised," Yorkshire Herald, 23 30. March 1934. See VBC/E20. See also Richard Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974, p. 320-39.
- Anonymous, Sydney Morning Herald, New South Wales, 14 March 31. 1935. See VBC/E20. The article is a report of Brittain's lecture to the London School of Hygiene, entitled: "Anti-Feminism Reaction in Europe."
- 32. Ibid. See also Grunberger, A Social History, p. 320-39.
- Anonymous, "Vera Brittain's Warning: Women's Movement in 33. Danger," East London Dispatch, South Africa, 20 March 1935. See VBC/E20. It is interesting to note the extent to which Brittain was receiving publicity in the Dominion.
- 34. Cape Argus, Cape Town, 26 March 1935. See VBC/E20.
- Vera Brittain, "The Anti-Feminist Reaction in Europe," lecture to 35. the Fabian Society, 8 March 1934; see VBC/F22. Attached is a copy of a letter from a J.A. McNab of the BUF to the editor of the Quiver criticising some of Brittain's remarks regarding the BUF.
- 36. It is important to note that in at least one piece Brittain did speak specifically of the "lethargy of the mass of unoccupied or semioccupied middle-class married women," but this direct indication was unusual. See VBC/H79, Why Feminism Lives, 1927.
- 37. Vera Brittain, "How War Affects Women," lecture given at Rockford Women's Club, Rockford, Illinois, 30 November 1937; VBC/F289.
- 38. Vera Brittain, "Women and the Next War," British Legion Journal, April 1936; VBC/G509.
- Vera Brittain, "Women and Disarmament," Highway, February 39. 1934: VBC/G445.

- Yvonne Bennett, "Vera Brittain and the Peace Pledge Union: 40. Women and Peace," paper presented to the Conference on Women and Education for Peace and Non-Violence, OISE, Toronto, Ontario, 29-30 September 1984, p. 7.
- 41. Branson, Britain in the Nineteen Twenties, p. 213.
- 42. Ibid., p. 213-14.
- See VBC/F9, 17 June 1932, Friends House, Conference on Family. 43.
- See Bennett, "Vera Brittain...Women and Peace," p. 7. See also 44. VBC/G530, Vera Brittain, "Women Still Wait for Equality," Daily Herald, 26 March 1938.
- 45. Rose, Politics in England, p. 155.
- See VBC/F155, "Women Since 1900," Bolton, March 1952. 46.
- Vera Brittain, Humiliation with Honour, New York: Fellowship 47. Publications, 1943, p. 9.
- Vera Brittain, "Women and Pacifism," Peace News, 15 August 1941, 48. p. 3.
- See VBC/F162, "Women's Values and Public Life," speech to the 49 WIL, 23 September 1953.

## Wars and Roses

It may be
that a
rose
is a
rose
is a
rose
but that
a war
is a
war
is a
war
just
ain't
so.

**Ruth Roach Pierson** Toronto